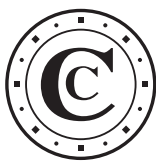


Cour des comptes



Chambres régionales
& territoriales des comptes

PUBLIC ENTITIES AND POLICIES

EVALUATION OF THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF PRIORITY NEIGHBOURHOODS

An important aspect of
urban policy

Thematic public report
Evaluation of a public policy

Summary Report

December 2020

DISCLAIMER

This summary report is intended to facilitate the reading and use of the report from Cour des comptes.

The report is accompanied by overviews of eight local areas grouped together in a second volume.

A second summary report groups together all the summary reports from the overviews for each local area.

The Cour des Comptes is only responsible for the report and the local area overviews.

Responses from the administrative bodies, organisations and public authorities involved appear after the report and each local area overview.

Summary

Introduction5

1 Is urban policy taking into account factors that affect the attractiveness of Priority Neighbourhoods for Urban Policymaking (QPVs)? 9

2 Did the attractiveness of QPVs improve between 2008 and 2018? 11

3 Did public schemes adversely affect any efforts to make QPVs more attractive between 2008 and 2018? 13

4 Has coordination between urban policy and other public service measures helped to make QPVs more attractive?15

5 Overview of specific areas of focus and recommendations . . . 17

Audit recommendations 21

Answers to four questions for the eight QPVs investigated.23

Introduction

Even though the name does not suggest so, for more than four decades now, urban policy has set out to close the gaps between deprived neighbourhoods and other neighbourhoods within the same metropolitan areas by improving their residents' living environments. It is a major public policy, as the central government puts forward €10 billion a year towards it¹, in addition to urban regeneration funding and an unclear level of expenditure allocated to it by the relevant local public authorities. The 5.4 million people residing in the 1,514 neighbourhoods identified as Priority Neighbourhoods for Urban Policymaking (QPVs), located in 859 communes (municipalities), are the direct beneficiaries of this support. Since they were first established, at least eight laws have set out their objectives. These policies harness both general resources, which are resources falling within the general scope of public services and initiatives, and schemes that receive specific funding.

Financial resources mobilised in 2019, excluding national urban regeneration programmes and local public authority expenditure

Budgetary expenditure	Tax expenditure	Urban solidarity endowment	Policy towards disadvantaged districts endowment	Fonds de solidarité des communes d'Île-de-France	European funds	Total
4,9 Md€	1,7 Md€	2,3 Md€	0,15 Md€	0,33 Md€	0,2 Md€	9,58 Md€

Source: Urban over-arching policy document (DPT), 2019 draft budget law (PLF)

Despite the multiple and recurrent calls for it to be comprehensively evaluated, after the various work that it has undertaken, the Cour des Comptes has found that **urban policy**, which has generated very high expectations and is tying up large amounts of expenditure, **cannot be evaluated as a whole**. This kind of analysis is impossible due to the sheer scope of its operations, its evolving objectives (which are often not really expressed in figures and are not ranked) and, more generally, inaccessible or even non-existent data that would use “statistical cohorts” to help to measure whether the objectives being pursued have been achieved in the long term.

1 The National Urban Regeneration Programme (PNRU) mobilised €12 billion of public funds between 2003 and 2012, including €1.2 billion of central government budget allocations (€846 million paid at the end of 2015), bringing total investment to €46.1 billion. The new PNRU (from 2016 to 2034) plans to mobilise €9 billion of public funds, including €1 billion of central government budget allocations (€75 million paid at the end of 2020), bringing investment of a similar level to the PNRU.

Introduction

Therefore, this report does not provide this comprehensive evaluation, but instead tries to evaluate the attractiveness of QPVs, which are one of the cornerstones of this policy. This aspect of urban policy marries together objectives (such as improving the image of neighbourhoods, drawing people to an area out of choice and preventing urban degeneration) and outcomes (such as setting up new activities and making it possible for low income households to move into an area). It also assesses whether this wide range of public initiatives helps to reduce tendencies to avoid these neighbourhoods and, more generally, whether or not they are improving the image of these neighbourhoods among their residents and the population as a whole.

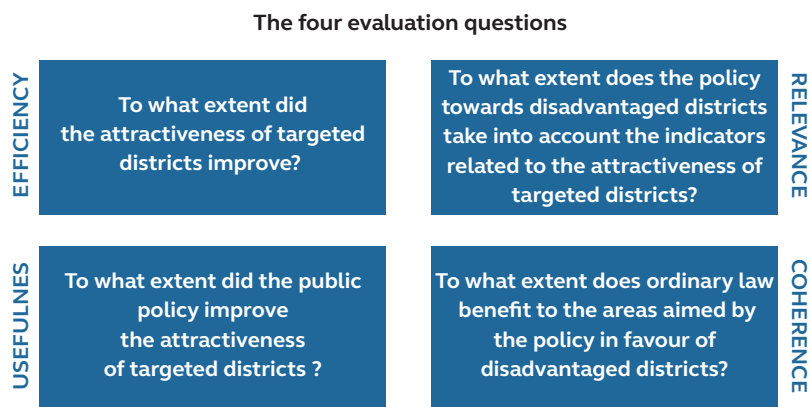
The evaluation focuses on the **decade between 2008-2018** and on priority neighbourhoods over this entire period. The neighbourhoods which were added to or removed from these so-called priority geographical areas as a result of Act No. 2014-173 of 21 February 2014 on City Planning and Urban Cohesion (referred to as the “Lamy Act”) have therefore not been included. The Cour des Comptes’ work has focused on **the three areas of housing, education and economic activity**, in addition to safety, which, as stated by the residents of the neighbourhoods investigated, frequently affects all of the others. The Cour des Comptes draws on scrutiny of **national data**, where it exists, and on in-depth analysis of the **situation in eight priority neighbourhoods²**, located in four regions, chosen in order to illustrate the wide range of local circumstances. Five of them have undergone urban regeneration as part of the first national programme (2004-2020 PNRU), while the three other neighbourhoods should benefit from the new programme (2014-2030 NPNRU):

- The Hauts-de-France region: - La Bourgogne in Tourcoing,
 - Les Provinces Françaises in Maubeuge,
- The Île de France region: - Rosiers-Chantepie in Sarcelles,
 - Montceuleux - Pont Blanc in Sevran,
- The Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes region: - Les Minguettes in Vénissieux/Saint-Fons,
 - Grand-Pont in Rive-de-Gier,
- The Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur region: - Saint-Chamand in Avignon
 - L’Ariane in Nice.

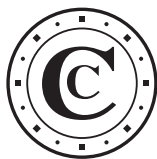
Completed at the start of 2020, this field analysis does not take into account the effects of the Covid-19 health crisis or its economic and social implications on the neighbourhoods investigated.

² The summary report is accompanied by eight local area overviews for each of the local areas explored.

In accordance with its professional standards for evaluating public policy, the Cour des Comptes has set out to answer **four evaluation questions**:



Source: Cour des comptes



1 Is urban policy taking into account factors that affect the attractiveness of Priority Neighbourhoods for Urban Policymaking (QPVs)?

The first question focuses on **the relevance** of the urban policy planning objectives and documents.

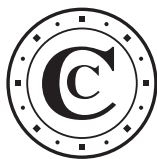
The notion of attractiveness, which may surprise readers who do not know a great deal about these topics, has gradually been grown to be accepted among the key urban policy objectives, and in many framework documents, such as urban contracts or urban renovation programmes. This issue of attractiveness flows through projects and schemes aiming to narrow the gap in personal situations and to better integrate these neighbourhoods into their urban environments to various degrees.

However, urban policy only partially takes into account the many dimensions that can make a neighbourhood attractive to new residents, as well as to people who already live there and people who hope or might hope to live there.

While some schemes aim to attract new slightly better-off residents to a neighbourhood in order to create a type of social diversity, urban policy only marginally covers perceptions of neighbourhoods by their residents, whether these are objective or subjective, such as the lingering effects of a tarnished image, day-to-day safety issues and a desire for mobility.

As a result, there are no programmes which can take the issue of attractiveness fully into account. Lingering “reputational” effects, the lack of opportunities for most residents to make meaningful decisions and the handling of emergency situations significantly restrict public authorities’ abilities to fulfil Lamy Law’s³ ambitions and achieve the stated objectives. These difficulties are exacerbated by the constraints of the local scope of neighbourhood initiatives, when they are played within the far larger dynamics at a métropole (metropolitan administrative entity) or even regional level.

³ Act No. 2014-173 of 21 February 2014 on City Planning and Urban Cohesion (referred to as the “Lamy Act”).



2 Did the attractiveness of QPVs improve between 2008 and 2018?

This second question focuses on **the effectiveness** of initiatives undertaken over ten years, as measured by the indicators available.

Over this ten-year period, there has been very little real noticeable overall progress in improving the attractiveness of priority neighbourhoods. Even with the “dedensification” covered by urban renovation work, the annual flows of people from QPVs are higher than flows of people entering them. In addition, the new residents come from more precarious social, economic and family backgrounds than those leaving these neighbourhoods.

There has been an increase in communities isolating themselves and even leaving within some QPVs, fuelled by a feeling of degeneration.

In the neighbourhoods which have benefited from the **National Urban Regeneration Programme (PNRU)**, quality of life and living conditions have improved, hugely noticeably in some cases, such as Les Minguettes, but, at the same time, the external image of these neighbourhoods has

not changed, as they are still tarnished by concerns about safety there. The main expectation of residents towards public authorities, and the central government in particular, is that more visible, consistent and effective action should be taken in this area.

The perceptions of **schools** are changing along with perceptions of their neighbourhoods and the socio-economic characteristics of the families living there. Pupils studying at these schools, which are generally in priority education schemes, still have lower school results than pupils from their education authority, despite the improvements observed over the ten-year period. The teams of teaching staff working in these neighbourhoods do not change a great deal and use innovative teaching methods (as is often the case there), which are essential for maintaining a peaceful school environment which will assist with learning, and for containing the tensions felt within the neighbourhood outside of the schools. However, the extra-curricular and educational support schemes, which help to drive the process of opening

4 Cour des Comptes data from demographic records on housing and individuals (Fideli) from the French National Institute for Statistics and Economic Research (INSEE) for 2016, 2017 and 2018.

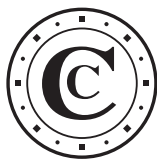
Did the attractiveness of QPVs improve between 2008 and 2018?

up neighbourhoods and to establish social diversity there, benefitting young people and their parents, miss the mark in terms of tackling residents' needs for cultural and economic reasons, but also due to competition from community organisations that do not work with public services.

Finally, these districts have been significantly hit by **an uninterrupted economic and commercial** downturn over the last decade. These neighbourhoods have not been greatly helped by the economic development schemes (which have been ineffective) and are not managing to attract new activities, while illegal activities, which, by their very nature, cannot be measured properly but are still very real to residents, are increasing there. Neighbourhood services,

which are not hugely multi-faceted and are often located on the ground floor of buildings, are tending to move out to the suburbs. This economic decay is due to residents' low purchasing power and due to the real and perceived perception that these neighbourhoods are unsafe.

In addition to this general finding that priority neighbourhoods have not become more attractive, perceptions towards them among people who do not live there have worsened. According to a survey by the French National Observatory for Urban Policy (ONPV), one in two French citizens (51%) think that the situation has actually worsened during the last ten years, compared to one in ten (10%) who think that it has improved.



3 Did public schemes adversely affect any efforts to make QPVs more attractive between 2008 and 2018?

The third question aims to appraise **the effectiveness** of schemes and public resources deployed in the neighbourhoods.

Only an ambiguous answer can be given here, as it depends on how well suited the initiatives undertaken are to meeting the challenges identified. Different neighbourhoods experience different levels of success with this.

From this perspective, urban policy is far too deeply entrenched within a prescriptive national approach, accompanied by numerous vague objectives. It barely reconciles the priority given to local initiatives with the need for coordination based around exact data and an objective evaluation of their outcomes. The division of jurisdictions between public bodies (such as the central government, métropoles or metropolitan area communities, communes and intermunicipal authorities for cooperation between local authorities (EPCIs)) is not at all clear, as EPCIs in particular have still not yet harnessed the expanded powers assigned to them by the City Planning Act of 21 February 2014.

There has been little progress in improving the attractiveness of cities that have benefited from the PNRU

(€12 billion, bringing total investment to €46.1 billion). The improvements made to buildings and spatial organisation achieved through **urban regeneration** are undeniable. However, despite a heavily social housing stock being (even partially) restored, the lack of actual strategy and resources to help push forward social diversity and the inadequate support for residents has meant that concentrations of poverty in these neighbourhoods have hardly come down. Urban regeneration does little change to change the image of these neighbourhoods when the underlying safety and economic problems remain. Finally, the time-frames for implementing urban renovation projects dilute the positive effects of their programmes.

Even though it should be its main vehicle, **the social housing allocation policy** is not helping to achieve the diversity objective in practice either. Intermunicipal or métropole housing allocation strategies are encountering a number of difficulties (such as a low turnover of residents, gravity of emergency situations, political difficulties with indicating specific criteria (such as nationality) and incompatible priorities between the public authorities that make up

5 The Cour des Comptes, the National Urban Renewal Agency (ANRU) and the implementation of urban regeneration programmes (PNRU and NPNRU), a report produced for the French Senate's finance standing committee, April 2020.

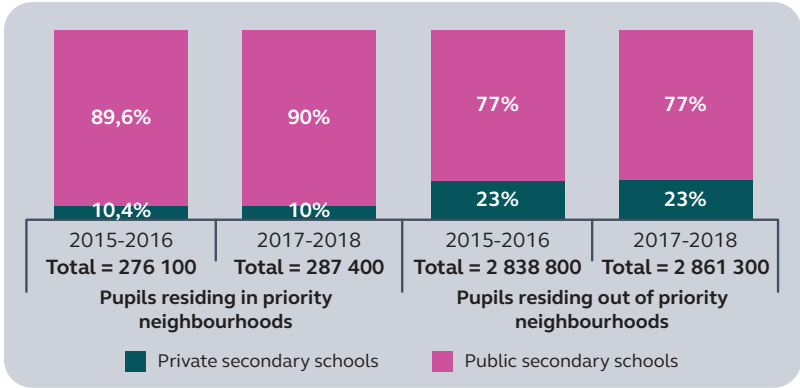
Did public schemes adversely affect any efforts to make QPVs more attractive between 2008 and 2018?

intercommunalités (intermunicipal local authorities). Therefore, they should be substantially enhanced, by being made more explicit and more consistent. The new tools introduced in Act No. 2017-86 of 27 January 2017 on Equality and Citizenship (referred to as the “Equality and Citizenship Act”) are working towards this ambition, but are still not being implemented on a large scale.

With schools and education, the specific schemes rolled out as part of priority education initiatives or urban contracts are striving, unsuccessfully, to maintain general school standards and tackle the specific educational needs of predominantly vulnerable families. Therefore, the 80 new educational housing estates (formed as part of the “cités éducatives” projects), which are

still in a trial phase, have an ambitious objective of providing comprehensive support to the under 25s and ensuring that there is a consistent approach in the joint action undertaken by national education agencies, other central government services and local public authority services. However, this scheme is too new to be evaluated. Despite this, the reputation or image of schools does not seem to be a crucial factor in decisions made to live in a neighbourhood, as families do not have real choices as regards their housing or their schools. There is very little tendency towards avoiding using state schools (such as exemptions from school catchment areas, enrolment in private education and homeschooling), both in numeric and proportional terms, but it seems to be growing.

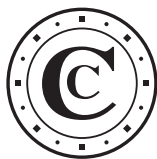
Pupil numbers at schools in 2015-2016 and 2017-2018, based on type of school and place of birth (as a percentage)



Source: 2019 ONPV report, data from the French Ministry of State Education (DEPP)

More problematically, in some neighbourhoods, **community extra-curricular offerings are being developed**, as well as even faith-based or community-based non-contract schools, which public authorities or central government offices see as out of step with the principles of public service. The proximity of these services on the ground floors of buildings, with

operating times tailored to family life, is one of the key factors behind their development. This situation suggests that the general schemes (such as success in education programmes and homework programmes) or specific initiatives funded by urban policy do not meet residents’ needs or do not always manage to stand out against competing offerings.



4 Has coordination between urban policy and other public service measures helped to make QPVs more attractive?

This final question covers **the coherence** of public initiatives.

While the City Planning Act of 21 February 2014 reinforced the subsidiary role of urban policy by stating that neighbourhood difficulties require general public policies, initiatives and public services to be mobilised as a matter of urgency, the coordination between this general framework and the specific schemes is still rather inadequate.

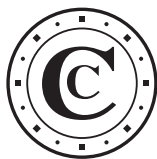
While priority neighbourhoods generally seem to have a strong yet narrow array of **public facilities** (such as sports facilities, community centres, cultural facilities and local service offices), which is in particular the case for sports facilities, there is a discrepancy between perception and reality among residents.

Findings vary on the subject of services. The resources deployed towards **“general” public services** by the central government and by other public authorities towards safety, cleanliness, early childhood support and transport are poorly identified, not particularly quantified and

difficult to “objectivise”, and seemingly do not tackle the identified needs, and any attempts made to adapt them are still negligible and not particularly effective.

Furthermore, there has been little progress with ensuring that these general schemes are able to adapt to the specific characteristics of neighbourhoods and their residents, in particular through “reinforced ordinary rules” set out by the general secretary of the Interministerial Committee for Urban Affairs in 2009, such as with the increase to resources allocated locally. The lack of widespread zoning (such as “state recapture” areas covering safety, urban tax-free zones covering economic development, school catchment areas and priority education maps) running concurrently makes these “reinforced” initiatives completely unclear.

The limited progress made in clarifying and applying the “subsidiarity” principle, which is regularly reiterated, poses questions about how urban policy is driven and, in particular, about how the various powers of different bodies are actually being combined.



5 Overview of specific areas of focus and recommendations

Investigations by financial courts have shown a number of inadequacies and shortcomings in the public schemes deployed as part of urban policy, which can vary from one neighbourhood to another.

The advice and recommendations put forward aim **to set out a more appropriate and more effective policy framework**, based on the neighbourhoods investigated and the national summary report produced. They focus on devising urban policy initiatives, looking into their structure, their objectives, their coordination and the resources allocated to them.

Making urban policy decentralisation more effective by allowing greater differentiation around “neighbourhood projects”

Reforms to urban policy covered by the Lamy Act in 2014 aimed to reinforce partnership-based governance, assigning key roles to EPCIs by reflecting local objectives in urban contracts. As a result, in reality, the scope of their operations spreads across communes, wider municipal areas and métropoles.

Six years on, little has been achieved, to say the least. The national and overarching objectives set out in law do

not help with expressing local priorities and initiatives inspired by the specific characteristics of the neighbourhoods themselves, nor with monitoring and evaluating these initiatives at a neighbourhood level. In addition, the lack of alignment in public initiative zoning for economic, educational and safety matters is hampering collaborative initiatives at a national level. In fact, this zoning has been unable to deliver on any such initiatives.

The deterioration of some neighbourhoods, the isolationist tendencies observed and the limited success of the policies implemented so far are major evidence that the 2023-2028 urban contracts need to properly reflect the decentralisation enshrined in law, with the central government focusing on setting out an adaptable common framework, by overseeing its implementation, which has hardly been done.

The Cour des Comptes proposes making decentralisation more effective by allowing local differentiations around “neighbourhood projects” included in each urban contract and by making their own priorities, objectives and monitoring indicators clear. The most suitable signatory local public authority should be tasked with implementing and evaluating these contracts.

Overview of specific areas of focus and recommendations

Specify the direction and scope of social and functional diversity objectives in neighbourhoods and align them with an explicit multi-year strategy focusing on increasing social housing stock, allocating housing and assigning business premises.

Despite its ambiguities⁶, the shared objective of greater social and functional diversity in neighbourhoods, reiterated in the most general terms⁷, is not being achieved.

This failure is due to neighbourhoods' lack of "natural" attractiveness, the lack of alternative housing for residents and the shortcomings or inconsistencies in strategies for allocating housing. In addition, in many neighbourhoods, there has been very little change in rebuilding the social housing stock, despite the urban regeneration measures. In the rare instances where diversity (measured solely by the income level) has seemingly increased, this has been due to factors unrelated to urban policy.

In order to start making the social diversity objective operate effectively, it needs to be reassessed, with focuses placed on specifying its scope and, where applicable,

on setting realistic targets and allocating specific resources as part of each neighbourhood project. If not, questions will be raised as to why resources are being allocated towards unachievable objectives.

No further progress has been made with functional diversity. Conversely, the economic and legal commercial offerings have ebbed away in most of the neighbourhoods, exacerbated by the trend of allocating vacated premises or premises on the ground floor of buildings to community or semi-public operations rather than taking the risk of helping businesses set up there.

In order to achieve the objective of establishing greater social and functional diversity in priority neighbourhoods, it is inevitably important to curb the trend of poverty and problems being concentrated there, and therefore slow down the arrival of the most insecure individuals and families.

The New Urban Regeneration Programme (NPNRU), established through the City Planning Act of 21 February 2014, contains guidelines for doing so, but they still do not seem to counteract the trend in the poorest sections of the population concentrating together, which contradicts the objectives set out in law.

6 While functional diversity may be understood as placing a wide range of initiatives (such as housing, businesses and public services) together in the same area, there is no official definition for social diversity, as noted by academic Thomas Kirszbaum (*Mixité sociale dans l'habitat : revue de la littérature dans une perspective comparative*, Paris, La Documentation française/Halde, 2008).

7 The 1991 Urban Planning Act already touched upon the aim of establishing "coexistence between the different sections of the population" in neighbourhoods, but a social diversity objective only emerged with the 2000 Urban Solidarity and Regeneration Act, which mentioned it 12 times.

Overview of specific areas of focus and recommendations

The Cour des Comptes proposes a reassessment of these social diversity objectives and recommends specifying their purpose and scope, as well as how they are measured, at the very least. This clearly outlined strategy in neighbourhood projects and urban contracts should be reflected in intermunicipal agreements for allocating housing and should apply to housing authorities and central government services when they plan to erect temporary housing structures.

As part of neighbourhood projects, better coordinate urban regeneration with social, educational and economic support for residents.

While urban regeneration work has improved the condition of buildings, the spatial organisation of neighbourhoods and, more generally, their residents' living environments, there could have been more ambitious functional diversity objectives, particularly with regard to businesses. However, more than anything, the social dimension of urban regeneration work for improving residents' lives, which has not been very effective thus far, should strive to go further. Urban regeneration has unfortunately not been devised in conjunction with other support measures from the outset.

Support for residents, particularly the youngest, must be a priority for everyone involved in urban policy. However, this priority is barely being translated into comprehensive

proposals that are embraced by their beneficiaries. The educational housing estates are drawing on this finding, but were established too recently to be evaluated. However, the Cour des Comptes would like to reiterate⁸ the need to tailor teaching methods to pupils' needs and allow priority education schools to act more independently. Looking beyond academic measures, there has not been a great take-up of seemingly suitable schemes (such as school canteens, French lessons and school support), due to a lack of information or motivation among beneficiaries. This gap in the public offering could result in it being replaced by community offerings in some neighbourhoods.

Finally, any investments required by these specific areas of focus must be based on a stringent evaluation of the schemes rolled out in the neighbourhoods, even though there have been widespread shortcomings in this area. As it already existed as part of certain exceptional investment programmes or programmes funded by the European Union, the obligation to earmark a certain amount of resources to for an evaluation of their effects should form an integral part of urban contracts and urban regeneration projects.

The Cour des Comptes recommends better coordinating urban regeneration with social, educational and economic support for residents of the neighbourhoods

⁸ The Cour des Comptes, *Priority education, thematic public report, 2018*.

Overview of specific areas of focus and recommendations

affected, particularly the youngest, by strengthening the resources specifically allocated to this support. The effectiveness and efficiency of this support must be evaluated using the required resources and based on appropriate data, which have yet to be harnessed.

Reinforce the coordination of initiatives funded by urban policy allocations and by general public policies to better tackle the specific needs of QPVs and their residents.

The City Planning Act of 21 February 2014 reiterated that “general public policies and services” must be mobilised urgently to reduce the disparities experienced in priority neighbourhoods. However, this mobilisation has not been greatly analysed, meaning that there is little information about it, even though findings suggest that it is not meeting residents’ needs. In addition, specific urban policy budgets may be used to fill this gap, or even replace some policies and services (for example, with extra-curricular measures).

The inability to quantify (and therefore demonstrate) how present and how active public services are being and quantify their related funding is contributing to the persistent discrepancy between the visible presence of public facilities and their perception among residents. This lack of figures is fuelling a recurrent yet largely unconstructive debate between bodies on the coordination of general and specific services.

The Cour des Comptes recommends improving all tools for analysing the specific requirements of these neighbourhoods and their residents, ensuring that general schemes are properly calibrated and ensuring proper coordination with specific urban policy allocations. It also proposes that national and local bodies be given access to the required databases for them to quantify public measures in neighbourhoods that would benefit their residents, in order to coordinate and evaluate the publicly funded initiatives rolled out, including by and for housing authorities, working as closely as possible with these neighbourhoods to do so.

Audit recommendations

Specific area of focus 1: Make urban- policy decentralisation more effective by enabling increased distinctions around “neighbourhood projects”

1. Develop a separate approach to urban policy, with each priority neighbourhood incorporated within a “neighbourhood project” included in the urban contract and setting out their own priorities, objectives and monitoring indicators. (*The Ministry of Regional Cohesion, the Ministry of Housing and the National Agency for Regional Cohesion (ANCT)*)

2. Ensure that urban contracts are governance documents that appoint a public authority or implementing partner responsible for rolling or evaluating each initiative or set of initiatives. (*The Ministry of Regional Cohesion, the Ministry of Housing and the National Agency for Regional Cohesion (ANCT)*)

3. Help put together coherent sets of initiatives by authorising standard delegations of powers and resources between public authorities at a neighbourhood level. (*Ministry of Housing and Ministry of Home Affairs*)

4. Operating under the authority of local offices of the central government and with their agreement, authorise urban contracts to adjust the zoning used for educational, economic and safety matters in order to align with the priority geographical areas as closely as possible. (*The Ministry of Housing, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the ANCT*)

Specific focus 2: Specify the direction and scope of social and functional diversity objectives in districts and align them with an explicit multi-year strategy focusing on increasing social housing stock, allocating housing and assigning business premises

5. Outline the strategy for increasing social and functional diversity in neighbourhood projects and urban contracts, clearly set out quantitative and qualitative targets and introduce specific targets for each priority neighbourhood that apply to housing authorities in intermunicipal agreements on housing allocation. (*The Ministry of Housing and the ANCT*)

6. Incorporate a section focusing on pre-existing or planned temporary housing structures in each neighbourhood project and ensure that they are rolled out in compliance with numerical social diversity objectives. (*The Ministry of Public Accounts, the Ministry of Housing and the ANCT*)

Specific area of focus 3: As part of neighbourhood projects, better coordinate urban regeneration with social, educational and economic support for residents

7. Increase the resources allocated to social, educational and economic support as part of urban regeneration projects, by earmarking a larger proportion of these resources to them. (*The ANCT and the ANRU*)

Audit recommendations

8. Incorporate a comprehensive support pathway for young people from childhood up to the end of adolescence, as a central thread to future 2023-2028 neighbourhood projects and urban contracts. (The ANCT and the Ministry of Education)

9. In the next generation of urban contracts and in each urban regeneration project, allocate a minimum proportion of budgets for evaluating schemes, at their mid-way point and when they have been fully rolled out. (The ANCT and the ANRU)

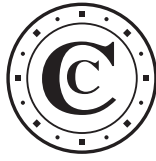
Specific area of focus 4: Strengthen the coordination of initiatives funded by urban policy allocations and by general public policies, in order to more effectively tackle the specific needs of QPVs and their residents

10. Provide national and local bodies with census, monitoring and geolocation databases, which will help to quantify public initiatives in neighbourhoods that would benefit their residents. (The Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of the Economy and Finance, the ANCT and the INSEE)

11. Bring together the different schemes covering safety and combatting criminal behaviour within urban contracts and neighbourhood projects, and ensure that they are consistent. (The Ministry of Home Affairs and the ANCT)

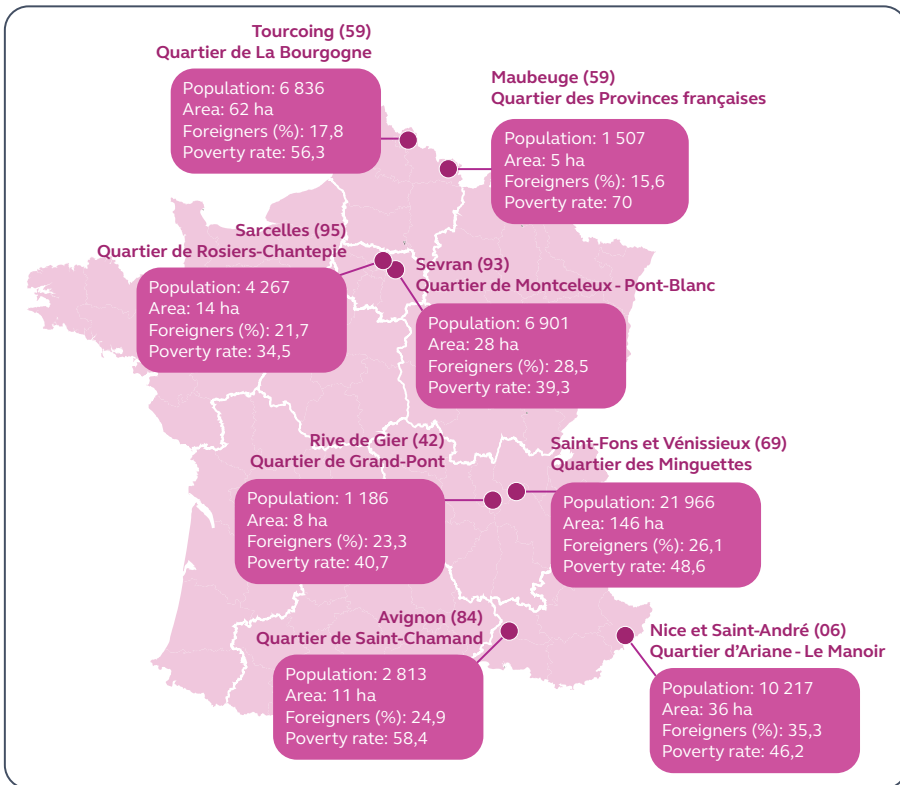
12. Ensure that general schemes are tailored to local needs before assigning specific resources. (The Ministry of Home Affairs and the ANCT)

13. Monitor the maintenance and major repairs policy for social housing stock in order to ensure that specific allocations are used properly (such as urban regeneration and property tax allowances) and grant financial benefits on the basis of adhering to the objectives of urban contracts. (The Ministry of Housing, the ANCT and the National Social Housing Management Agency (ANCOLS))



Answers to four questions for the eight QPVs investigated

The eight priority neighbourhoods investigated



Source: Cour des Comptes, data from the Urban SGI

Answers to four questions for the eight QPVs investigated

Is urban policy taking into account factors that affect the attractiveness? Summary of the responses for the eight QPV studied and presented in addition to this report	
Minguettes-Clochettes	Rather no It's only marginally and indirectly that the actions implemented in the frame of urban policy addressed the attractiveness of the neighbourhood.
Maubeuge Provinces Françaises	Rather no The credits specific to urban policy, oriented towards the funding of association, concern mostly animation actions or social support. Police action, if it permitted to reduce the volume of the facts recorded, has paradoxically reinforced the perception of a dangerous neighbourhood.
Nicel'Ariane	Rather yes Public actors have included the dimension of attractiveness in their actions, with for example a reflexion on the image of the priority neighbourhood, but the results do not match the ambitions.
Rive-de-Gier Grand-Pont	Rather yes The urban policy focused its intervention on the urban renovation.
Avignon Saint-Chamand	Rather no The reinforcement of the attractiveness of the neighbourhood is not a priority objective of the urban contract, which aims essentially to reduce the socio-economic fragilities of the residents of the priority neighbourhood.
Sarcelles Rosiers-Chantepie	Rather yes The urban contract explicitly mentions the notion of attractiveness. However, there is a gap between the actions funded and the ambitious strategy stated in the urban contract.
Sevran Montceuleux -Pont-Blanc	Rather yes The actions conducted in the security domain aimed clearly to address the handicaps of the neighbourhood.
Tourcoing La Bourgogne	Rather yes The weaknesses and assets of the neighbourhood are well identified by the public authorities, and the institutions are adapting their practice to the specific difficulties.

Answers to four questions for the eight QPVs investigated

Did the attractiveness of these neighbourhoods improve? Summary of the responses for the eight neighbourhoods studied and presented in addition to this report :	
Minguettes-Clochettes	<p>Yes, but partially</p> <p>The improvement of the neighbourhood's attractiveness is real but stays limited and heterogeneous between the five different sectors. The structural handicaps of the neighbourhood contribute to its negative perception, despite its partial renovation.</p>
Maubeuge Provinces Françaises	<p>No</p> <p>During the studied period, the neighbourhood stayed a place of concentration of fragile populations. No sign shows the arrival of less precarious people.</p>
Nice l'Ariane	<p>Rather no, or only marginally via accession operations</p> <p>Despite the importance of the means mobilized and the clear transformation of the living environment, the residential and scholar attractiveness barely improved. The neighborhood continues to suffer from a very negative image.</p>
Rive-de-Gier Grand-Pont	<p>Yes, but partially and in a fragile way</p> <p>The attractiveness of the neighbourhood improved, as the result of urban renovation.</p>
Avignon Saint-Chamand	<p>Rather no</p> <p>The attractiveness of the neighbourhood stays limited. The residents seek to leave the neighbourhood.</p>
Sarcelles Rosiers-Chantepie	<p>Rather yes</p> <p>The neighbourhood of Rosiers-Chantepie is not more attractive than ten years ago. However, the image of the neighbourhood and its visibility improved, thanks to the implantation of important equipment's decided outside the frame of the urban policy.</p>
Sevran Montceuleux – Pont-Blanc	<p>Rather yes but relatively</p> <p>As a result of the urban renovation, the social landlords express the feeling that it's less difficult to rent their accommodations. The social characteristics of the residents however still show an extreme fragility.</p>
Tourcoing-La Bourgogne	<p>Rather no</p> <p>During the 2008-2018 period, no major intervention was conducted in the neighbourhood that has important urban and social disadvantages. The neighbourhood is generally rejected.</p>

Answers to four questions for the eight QPVs investigated

Did public measures permitted to improve the attractiveness of the eight studied neighbourhoods? Summary of the responses for the eight neighbourhoods studied and presented in addition to this report :	
Minguettes-Clochettes	Yes, partially The actions conducted seem to have amortized the increase of the socio-economic difficulties of the residents of the neighbourhood.
Maubeuge Provinces Françaises	Rather no The public action was limited to the management of the social difficulties of the residents, to avoid a more important degradation of their situation.
Nice l'Ariane	Rather no The actions conducted mainly limited the consequences of the durable fragility of the residents.
Rive-de-Gier Grand-Pont	Yes, partially The different measures had various results in terms of attractiveness : the objective of improvement of the access of the neighbourhood is achieved. The residential diversification was initiated, without any real impact on the social diversity and on the concentration of foreign populations.
Avignon Saint-Chamand	Rather no The actions conducted by the different actors remained partitioned, and have mainly permitted to limit the consequences of the pauperisation and of the reduction of the social diversity noticed.
Sarcelles Rosiers-Chantepie	Rather no The public action, a real social shock-absorber in addition to ordinary law, permitted to improve a bit the image of the neighborhood and of the living conditions of its residents, without however achieving to make it more attractive.
Sevran Montceux - Pont-Blanc	Yes but insufficiently The public action has globally permitted to stop the negative spiral suffered from the neighbourhood, in particular in terms of security and delinquency. It was not however sufficient to put the neighbourhood on a positive path.
Tourcoing La Bourgogne	Rather no The strategy regarding security has positive results, without achieving to put an end on the negative image of the neighbourhood. The public action does not achieve to improve structurally the situation of the residents, to address the dysfunctions of the neighbourhood and to make its image evolve.

Answers to four questions for the eight QPVs investigated

Did ordinary law benefit to the eight districts studied ? Summary of the responses for the eight neighbourhoods studied and presented in addition to this report :	
Minguettes-Clochettes	<p>Not systematically</p> <p>The objectives of welcoming the more modest households and improving the social diversity are antagonists.</p> <p>The objectives of urban policy are insufficiently taken into account regarding some ordinary law policies. Only a more directive leading of the housing attribution policy in the social housing field would permit to really change the image of the neighbourhood and its attractiveness.</p>
Maubeuge Provinces Françaises	<p>Rather no</p> <p>The transversal approach of public intervention though ordinary law measures regarding education and training, or housing and living conditions needs a better coordination between the municipal and intercommunal levels, but also a wider adhesion of the people that may benefit from this intervention.</p>
Nice l'Ariane	<p>Rather yes regarding equipments, but only partly regarding services</p> <p>The presence of public equipment was reinforced. The actions conducted in the frame of urban policy have a tendency to be replaced by ordinary law policies. The actions based on ordinary law deployed without any adaptation to the specificity of the populations fail to address their needs.</p>
Rive-de-Gier Grand-Pont	<p>Not systematically</p> <p>Ordinary law measures benefit to the neighbourhood in a heterogeneous way.</p>
Avignon Saint-Chamand	<p>No</p> <p>The financial context sometime justified decisions that reduced the intensity of ordinary law policies.</p>
Sarcelles Rosiers-Chantepie	<p>Rather no</p> <p>Several entire parts of certain public policies (employment policy, or economic development policy notably) are barely deployed in the neighbourhood.</p>
Sevran Montceuleux-Pont-Blanc	<p>Rather no</p> <p>Lacking of sufficient means, the neighbourhood does not fully benefit from every existing mechanism.</p>
Tourcoing La Bourgogne	<p>Rather yes</p> <p>The neighbourhood benefits from reinforced measures in terms of security and education policy, corresponding to its particular difficulties and to the specific needs of the population.</p>

